



TITLE:

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'A Dog and a Pig', and 'Stealing'

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# Dom Texts\*

‘A Hawk and a Parrot’, ‘A Dog and a Pig’, and ‘Stealing’

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## 1 Introduction

The Dom language is spoken in the Dom area in the Gumine District and in a part of the Sinasina District of the Simbu Province (formerly called Chimbu) in the highlands of Papua New Guinea. Grimes (2001) reports that the number of the speakers is 12,000.

According to Wurm’s comprehensive research on the Papuan languages (1982), this language is the Dom subdialect of the Kuman-Dom subdialects of the Chimbu dialects, which belong to the Chimbu subfamily of the Central family.

The phonemes of Dom are: /p, b, m, t, d, n, k, g, s, r, l, y, w; i, e, a, u, o/. Voiced stops are prenasalized. This is especially noticeable in non-utterance-initial position. Among the vowels, *e* can be freely deleted in word-final position, if the word is not monosyllabic. When words consisting of one consonant are pronounced in isolation, a vowel *i* is added after it.<sup>1</sup> Three word tones are

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I would like to express my gratitude to my informants for their cooperation. Thanks to Maumne Palus, who always amuses us with various stories. And thanks to the people in Yaire Maule, who have been indispensable for my life in the village. I wish to thank my two friends, Jim Burdett for his assistance in correcting my English draft, for Friday pizzas which I never imagined eating in Dom and for all his kindness and Theo Dambe, who introduced me into Dom, for his constant assistance in all aspects in Papua New Guinea in spite of our constant quarrels. Finally, I would like to extend my thanks to HUZIWARA Keisuke, KAWABATA Yoshihiro and NAGAI Kayo for their patience to check my errors so many times for so long time.

<sup>1</sup>The words consisting of one consonant have an allomorph with *i* in word-final position as

represented by placing ʔ, ʌ and ʋ before segmental representations for a high, a falling and a rising tone respectively. Clitics lose their inherent tone when they follow a word which does not have a falling tone, and they are pronounced at a lower pitch than the preceding word. In some verbs with future suffixes the verb root has its pitch value unspecified, in which case the tone symbol is placed before the future suffix.

The following texts are in the Dom language, and narrated by Maumne Palus (male, early 30's), who belongs to the Gelwa Gauma sub-clan of the Non Ku clan and is a young leader of the hamlet of NI Mogwa. The first two texts are folktales and the last text is the narrator's actual experience.

## 2 Texts

### 2.1 A Hawk and a Parrot

Recorded on 2 October 2000.

1. ʔker ʔker ʌdi<sup>2</sup>

(beginning.of.the.story)

Ker-ker di.

2. ʔkila ʌkulam ʋsu ʌmal ʎya ʋme-ipka ʔkipl  
hawk parrot two near right/back.here stay-2/3DL.SRD bushfire(AJ)  
ʌwaki ʔyam ʌbl ʌdo-m ʌdu-gwe<sup>3</sup>  
Wahgi.river right/back.down.here big burn(intr.)-3SG say-3SG.IND  
Kila hawk and Kulam parrot lived here. [Once] there was a big fire in the bush down near the Wahgi.

3. ʎyal ʔsul ʌi ʋal-a=ʌo ʔkipl ʌbl  
man two.person DEM1 brother-1SG.POSS=VOC bushfire(AJ) big

in the quotation marker ʔd ~ ʔdi and the words with *e* in word-final position have an allomorph without *e* as in ʌele ~ ʌel 'make and' because of *i*-addition and *e*-deletion respectively.

<sup>2</sup>ʔker ʔker ʌdi is not used in conversation. It signals the beginning of a tale and can have a different prosody.

<sup>3</sup>ʌdugwe 's/he said' here does not mean that someone actually said so but it indicates this story is passed to the speaker from someone and is not the speaker's own idea. Using ʌdugwe is one of the styles of tales.

\ndo-m=\Gamma ia                \ndua \nap=\Gamma ta \ngol        ye-\na-gwa  
 burn(intr.)-3SG=EXPL rat    animal=a die.INF be-FUT-3SG.SRD  
 \var                \Gamma yu        { ke } \veke                ne-\ra-pl-a  
 pick.up.INF fetch.INF                cook.by.steam.INF eat-FUT-1DL-END.A  
 \Gamma er \no-pl-o                \ndi-pka  
 to go-1DL-END.O say-2/3DL.SRD

These two said, “My brother! There is a big bushfire. Let’s go and find rats or some animals which might be lying there dead, bring them [back], cook them, and eat them!”

4. \kol \Gamma wa\du    \Gamma er \nim                \ne-ipka        \ne-ipka<sup>4</sup>  
    side search.INF to down.there go-2/3DL.SRD go-2/3DL.SRD  
 \kol \Gamma wa\du    \Gamma er \nip                \nw-ipka  
    side search.INF to up.there come-2/3DL.SRD

They went up and down in search [of carrion] for a while.

5. \gur=\lya    \Gamma gar/\kl=\lya \ndua=\lya \ngol        \veyo-gwa  
    lizard=and snake=and rat=and die.INF be-3SG.SRD  
 \var                \ngal                \ngl                \nyu-ipka        \nyu-ipka  
    pick.up.INF string.bag put.into.INF fetch-2/3DL.SRD fetch-2/3DL.SRD

They picked up dead lizards, snakes and rats, put them in their bags, and carried them back.

6. \mal \lya                \Gamma u-re                \veke                \vpal-e  
    near right/back.here come-and(ss) cook.by.steam.INF put-and(ss)  
 \nkulam \kapan=\Gamma rae \Gamma di        \Gamma kila    \Gamma te-re<sup>5</sup>  
    parrot DIM=DEM2 say.INF hawk give-and(ss)  
 \va\l-a=\lo                \vekal    \Gamma si        \nyu-pkrae  
    brother-1SG.POSS=VOC thing hit.INF fetch-1DL.DEM2  
 \veke                \vpal-pl=\Gamma a  
    cook.by.steam.INF put-1DL=EXPL

<sup>4</sup>Repetition of the verb phrase in subordinative form followed by another clause indicates that the event lasts for a duration of time. The duration is expressed by how many times it is repeated.

<sup>5</sup>The serial verb \Gamma di (SOMEONE) \Gamma te- ‘say and give someone’ means ‘to tell someone’.

ne-/ra-pka      \nl      gol-/a-pkra=ʼwa  
eat-FUT-1DL.SRD    water    die-FUT-1DL.DEM2=ENC.WA

\nl      ʼne-re      ʼne-re<sup>6</sup>      ne-/ra-pl=ʼa  
water    eat-and(ss)    eat-and(ss)    eat-FUT-1DL=EXPL

ʼen    ʼpi<sup>7</sup>      \nl=ʼta    \kol    \yu-na-n-a      \p-o  
you    go.INF    water=a    fill.INF    fetch-FUT-2SG-END.A    go-SG.IMP

\du-gwa  
say-3SG.SRD

When they came back and were cooking them, Kulam said to Kila, “My brother! We are cooking things we found and brought here. We will be thirsty, as you know, when we eat them. Why don’t we drink water while we eat. Go get some water and come back.”

7. \kulam    \ni      \kware    ʼkila    ʼd      \er-ke<sup>8</sup>      ʼer  
parrot    DEM1    already    hawk    say.INF    to/off-1SG.and(DS)    to  
\nan=ʼkene      ʼna    ʼmuru    \ne-ra-l=ʼa=ʼdi  
go.and(DS)=after.that(DS)    I    whole    eat-FUT-1SG=EXPL=Q  
\pl=ʼpare      \yel=ʼdi    \pl  
perceive.and(ss)=after.that(ss)    like.this=Q    perceive.INF  
ʼkila    ʼdi      \er-ke      \nl      kol-/a-gwa  
hawk    say.INF    to/off-1SG.and(DS)    water    fill-FUT-3SG.SRD  
\na-gwal=\we=ʼdi      \pl-e      ʼd      \er-gwa  
go.FUT-3SG.LOC=ENC.WE=Q    perceive-and(ss)    say.INF    to/off-3SG.SRD

Kulam meant to eat them all by himself after sending Kila off. With such intention, he thought about where he would send Kila to fetch water.

8. ʼkila=ʼrae    ʼen    \p-o      \du-gwa    \kore  
hawk=DEM2    you    go-SG.IMP    say-3SG.SRD    but

<sup>6</sup>The construction  $V_i$ -re  $V_i$ -re is used to indicate attendant circumstances.

<sup>7</sup>The word  $p$ - ‘go’ has two other suppletive roots.  $p$ - is used for the infinitive (including the form used with the negative clitic), the imperative, and the conjunctive (for the same subject),  $n$ - for all the conjugations in the future tense,  $e$ -/ $o$ -, for the other forms. The last root shows regular vowel alternation of the high-tone verb.

<sup>8</sup>The serial verb ʼd \er- ‘say off’ means ‘to send someone to somewhere’.

Nkulam=Γrae λmol-e Γen λp-o λdu-gwa  
 parrot=DEM2 stay-and(ss) you go-SG.IMP say-3SG.SRD

Kila said, "You go!" but Kulam said, "You go!"

9. Γkila=Γrae Γen λp-o λdu-gwa  
 hawk=DEM2 you go-SG.IMP say-3SG.SRD

Kila said, "You go."

10. Nkulam Γen λp-o λdu-gwa  
 parrot you go-SG.IMP say-3SG.SRD

Kulam said, "You go."

11. Γkol Γkol Γdi λme-ipka  
 both.side say-INF stay-2/3DL.SRD

They kept arguing with each other.

12. λana Γkila=Γrae λna-l=λua Γd-re λo-gwi  
 then hawk=DEM2 go.FUT-1SG=ENC.WA say-and(ss) go-3SG.DEM1

Nkulam Nkapan=Γrae λnl λmuku Γmukal=Γta λsiki  
 parrot DIM=DEM2 water container bamboo=a cut.off-INF

λyo-gwa Γkila Nkapan λto-gwi  
 put-3SG.SRD hawk DIM give-3SG.DEM1

Nbin Nim=Γrae Γsi Γgukl Γdi  
 bottom down.there=DEM2 hit-INF hole(AJ) (say).INF

λye-re Γte ΓkiNkor-gwa  
 put-and(ss) give-INF PERF-3SG.SRD

When Kila said, "I will go," and was leaving, Kulam gave him a water container made of bamboo, on the bottom of which he had made a hole.

13. Γkila Nkapan=Γrae Γi-re Γer λo-gwa  
 hawk DIM=DEM2 take-and(ss) to go-3SG.SRD

Kila took it and went.

14. Γnul λnl Nkol-gwi λkau λs-na-m=Γdi λel  
 river water fill-3SG.DEM1 filled.up(AJ) (hit)-FUT-3SG=Q make-INF

ʌmol-gwi ʌmol ɿer ʌo-gwa ʌmol ɿer ʌo-gwa  
 stay-3SG.DEM1 stay.INF to go-3SG.SRD stay.INF to go-3SG.SRD

ʌkau ɿta ʌsi=ʌk-gwa  
 filled.up(AJ) NEG (hit)=NEG-3SG.SRD

He waited a long time at the river for the container to fill up with water, but it never did.

15. ʌnamʌel-m=ɿdi ʌbin ʌim=ɿrae ʌkan-wdae  
 what.happen-3SG=Q bottom down.there=DEM2 see-3SG.DEM2

ɿgukl ɿdi ʌyo-gwa  
 hole(AJ) (say).INF be-3SG.SRD

Wondering why, he examined the bottom of the container and saw there was a hole.

16. ʌeiʌyo=ɿdi ɿer ɿkol ʌu-gwi  
 oh.my.goodness=Q to back come-3SG.DEM1

He said, "Eiyo!" and came back.

17. ʌkulam ʌkapan ɿwaʌdu-r ɿal ɿdi  
 parrot DIM search-and(ss) call.name(AJ) say.INF

ʌwan-gwa ʌkore ʌkulam ʌkapan ɿta ɿmo=ʌk-gwe  
 move.around-3SG.SRD but parrot DIM NEG stay=NEG-3SG.IND

Searching for Kulam, he went around calling his name, but Kulam was not there.

18. ɿal ɿd ʌwan-gwa ɿman-gwe  
 call.name(AJ) say.INF move.around-3SG.SRD fail-3SG.IND

He went around calling his name in vain.

19. ɿpi ʌkomna<sup>9</sup> ʌke-pkrae ʌyaul kar-ʌa-l=ɿdi<sup>10</sup>  
 go.INF vegetable cook.by.steam-1DL.DEM2 open.INF see-FUT-1SG=Q

ʌyaul-wdae  
 open-3SG.DEM2

He opened [the earth oven] to see the food they cooked.

<sup>9</sup>This word is used not only for vegetables, but also for other foods, which usually are not eaten everyday in contrast with ʌkepa 'sweet potato', which can also mean 'everyday food'.

<sup>10</sup>The construction V-FUT-1SG/DL/PL+ɿdi means 'with the intention of V-ing'.

20. Nkulam Nkapan ʔne ʔne ʔkiNkor-e ʔde ʔte  
 parrot DIM eat.INF eat.INF PERF-and(ss) excrement (give).INF  
 Nkui Nari ʔbi ʔdi ʔpal ʔkiNkor-gwa  
 again leaf cover(AJ) (say).INF put.INF PERF-3SG.SRD

Kulam had already eaten it all up, excreted in it and covered the earth over again with [banana] leaves.

21. ʔkila=ʔrae yaul-ʔa-l=ʔd ʔel-wdae  
 hawk=DEM2 open-FUT-1SG=Q make-3SG.DEM2  
 ʔde ʔo ʔbau-gwa  
 excrement hand.3SG.POSS touch-3SG.SRD

As Kila tried to open [the oven], he got excrement on his hands.

22. ʔkila ʔde-m ʔgol-gwa<sup>11</sup>  
 hawk intestines-3SG.POSS die-3SG.SRD

Kila got angry.

23. ʔwa/du ʔu ʔo-gwa ʔu ʔo-gwa ʔu  
 search.INF come.INF go-3SG.SRD come.INF go-3SG.SRD come.INF  
 ʔo-gwa ʔu ʔo-gwa ʔta ʔka=ʔk-gw  
 go-3SG.SRD come.INF go-3SG.SRD NEG see=NEG-3SG.IND

He searched for Kulam everywhere for such a long time, but he could not find Kulam.

24. Nkulam Nkapan ʔkwar ʔpi ʔkaula=ʔrae ʔgor  
 parrot DIM already go.INF centre.post=DEM2 pull.out.INF  
 ʔer ʔkor ʔpi ʔmaun ʔapl ʔnim=ʔrae  
 to/off.INF PERF.INF go.INF below invisible.side down.there=DEM2  
 ʔpai ʔkor-e ʔkaula=ʔrae ʔkui ʔyu ʔpal  
 lie.INF PERF-and(ss) centre.post=DEM2 again fetch.INF put.INF  
 ʔkol ʔer-e ʔsi ʔgeu ʔdi ʔpal-gw  
 back to/off-and(ss) hit.INF fit.in(AJ) (say).INF put-3SG.IND

[It was because] Kulam had pulled out the centre post of the house, had gone down into the hole, had hidden there, had put the post back again, and had fitted it in the hole.

<sup>11</sup>The phrase ʔdem ʔgol- means 'be/get angry' idiomatically.



25. ʔkila=ʔrae ʔpi ʔkaula=ʔrae ʔgor ʔkan-m=ʔba  
hawk=DEM2 go.INF centre.post=DEM2 pull.out.INF see-3SG=but  
Nkulam Nkapan=ʔrae ʔapl ʔyam=ʔrae  
parrot DIM=DEM2 invisible.side right/back.down.here=DEM2  
ʔi ʔki ʔer ʔpai ʔmol-gwa  
take.INF bad to/off.INF lie.INF stay-3SG.SRD  
Kila pulled out that post and looked [into the hole]. Kulam was down there feeling bad.

26. ʔkila ʔde-m ʔgol-gwa ʔdi ʔsi ʔkiNkor-gwa  
hawk intestines-3SG.POSS die-3SG.SRD axe hit.INF PERF-3SG.SRD  
Kila got angry and swung an axe.

27. Nkulam Nkapan ʔguma ʔbol  
parrot DIM nose.3SG.POSS be.hit.INF  
Nkiul ʔsi ʔkiNkor-gwe  
cut(AJ) (hit).INF PERF-3SG.IND  
Kulam was hit on the beak and it was cut off.

28. Nkulam Nkapan ʔde-m ʔgol-m=ʔia  
parrot DIM intestines-3SG.POSS die-3SG=EXPL  
Kulam got angry.

29. ʔal ʔer ʔu-gwi  
stand.up.INF to come-3SG.DEM1  
He stood up and came [to Kila].

30. ʔkila Nkapan ʔbol ʔkol ʔkole ʔbol ʔu ʔe-pka  
hawk DIM with both.side fight.INF come.INF go-2/3DL.SRD  
ʔu ʔe-pka ʔu ʔe-pka  
come.INF go-2/3DL.SRD come.INF go-2/3DL.SRD  
ʔki ʔpai ʔkor-m=ʔia  
bad lie.INF PERF-3SG=EXPL  
He and Kila fought each other such a long time that they got tired.

31. Nkulam Nkapan ʔdi ʔkila Nkapan ʔte-re  
 parrot DIM say.INF hawk DIM give-and(ss)  
 ʋal-a=ʎo ʎwai ʋmo-pkra=ʎba  
 brother-1SG.POSS=VOC good stay-1DL.DEM2=but  
 ʔen ʔna ʎguma-na ʔdi ʎkiul ʎe-gi  
 you I nose-1SG.POSS axe cut(AJ) make-2SG.DEM1  
 ʔna ʔki ʎpl=ʔa ʔen ʎmal ʔi ʎmol-e  
 I bad perceive.1SG=END.A you near DEM1 stay-and(ss)  
 ʔkipl gal-ʋa-gwa ʋkuna ʔi=ʔrae=ʎya  
 bushfire(AJ) burn(tr.)-FUT-3SG.SRD around DEM1=DEM2=and  
 ʋapal ʋkepa ʎmol gal-ʋa-gwal=ʔrae  
 woman sweet.potato rubbish burn(tr.)-FUT-LOC=DEM2  
 ʔgur ʎdua ʔkui ʎel-e  
 lizard rat hunt(AJ) make-and(ss)  
 ʎmal Ni ʋwan ʔmol-o  
 near DEM1 move.around.INF stay-SG.IMP  
 ʔna ʔere ʎBomai ʋkamn ʋkuna Nim ʔp-re  
 I to PLN area around down.there go-and(ss)  
 ʎkomna ʋkal ʎwai ʋyo-gwal ʋkuna Nim ʔne-re  
 vegetable thing good be-3SG.LOC around down.there eat-and(ss)  
 ʎapl ʋkuna Nim ʔer ʔdmn=ʔla  
 invisible.side around down.there tree woods=LOC  
 ʋkuna Nim mol-ʋa-ka ʔer ʎe-i=ʎua  
 around down.there stay-FUT-1SG.SRD to go-1SG=ENC.WA  
 ʔd-re ʔer ʔml ʔp-re ʔer ʔp-re ʔer ʎo-gwa  
 say-and(ss) to up go-and(ss) to go-and(ss) to go-3SG.SRD  
 Kulam said to Kila, "My brother, we were good friends, but [now] I am  
 unhappy that you cut my beak off with an axe. You stay here and hunt such  
 things as lizards and rats where people will burn bushes or where women  
 will burn rubbish in sweet potato gardens. I am going to go to Bomai to eat,  
 where the good food is, and to live deep in the forest." He flew up in the  
 sky and left.

32.  $\text{\textbackslash}Bomai$   $\text{\textbackslash}kamn$   $\text{\textasciicircum}p\text{-}re$   $\text{\textasciicircum}er$   $\text{\textbackslash}o\text{-}gwa$   
 PLN area go-and(ss) to go-3SG.SRD  
 He went far away to Bomai.
33.  $\text{\textasciicircum}kila$   $\text{\textbackslash}kapan=\text{\textasciicircum}rae$   $\text{\textbackslash}mal$   $\text{\textbackslash}ya$   $\text{\textbackslash}mol\text{-}e$   $\text{\textasciicircum}kipl$   
 hawk DIM=DEM2 near right/back.here stay-and(ss) bushfire(AJ)  
 $\text{\textbackslash}gal\text{-}gwal$   $\text{\textbackslash}kuna$   $\text{\textasciicircum}i=\text{\textasciicircum}rae$   $\text{\textasciicircum}gur$   $\text{\textbackslash}dua$   $\text{\textasciicircum}kui$   
 burn(tr.)-3SG.LOC around DEM1=DEM2 lizard rat hunt(AJ)  
 $\text{\textbackslash}el$   $\text{\textbackslash}wan$   $\text{\textbackslash}mol$   $\text{\textbackslash}pai$   $\text{\textbackslash}mol\text{-}gwe$   
 make.and(ss) move.around.INF stay.INF lie.INF stay-3SG.IND  
 Kila remained here hunting small animals like lizards and rats.
34.  $\text{\textbackslash}elma$   $kan\text{-}\text{\textbackslash}a\text{-}ga$   
 now see-FUT-2SG.SRD  
 $\text{\textasciicircum}kila$   $\text{\textbackslash}kapan$   $\text{\textbackslash}mal$   $Ni$   $\text{\textbackslash}wan$   $\text{\textbackslash}mol\text{-}e$   
 hawk DIM near DEM1 move.around.INF stay-and(ss)  
 $\text{\textasciicircum}kipl$   $\text{\textbackslash}gal\text{-}gwal$   $Ni$   $\text{\textasciicircum}gur$   $\text{\textbackslash}dua$   $\text{\textasciicircum}kui$   $\text{\textbackslash}el$   
 bushfire(AJ) burn(tr.)-3SG.LOC DEM1 lizard rat hunt(AJ) make.INF  
 $\text{\textbackslash}wan\text{-}gwi$   
 move.around-3SG.DEM1  
 Now you will see that the hawk is living here hunting lizards and rats where people burn bushes.
35.  $\text{\textbackslash}kulam$   $\text{\textbackslash}kapan$   $\text{\textbackslash}bol$   $\text{\textbackslash}ama$   $mol\text{-}\text{\textbackslash}a\text{-}ipl=\text{\textbackslash}ba$   
 parrot DIM with too stay-FUT-2/3DL=but  
 $\text{\textbackslash}yel$   $\text{\textbackslash}el\text{-}gwa$   $\text{\textbackslash}pl$   $\text{\textbackslash}kulam$   $\text{\textasciicircum}er$   $\text{\textbackslash}o\text{-}gwa$   
 like.this make-3SG.SRD perceive.INF parrot to go-3SG.SRD  
 He would have lived together with the parrot, but because of this incident, the parrot went away.
36.  $\text{\textbackslash}Bomai$   $\text{\textbackslash}kamn$   $\text{\textasciicircum}er$   $\text{\textasciicircum}dmn$   $\text{\textbackslash}bl=\text{\textasciicircum}la$   $\text{\textbackslash}kuna$   $Nime$   
 PLN area tree woods big=Loc around down.there  
 $\text{\textbackslash}wan\text{-}gwa$   
 move.around-3SG.SRD  
 He lives deep in the forest in Bomai.

37. ʔkila ʔkapan ʔmal ʔi ʔmol-e ʔel ʔmol-gwe  
hawk DIM near DEM1 stay-and(ss) make.INF stay-3SG.IND

The hawk still lives here.

38. ʔwai ʔsu-gwe  
end(AJ) (hit)-3SG.DEM1

The end.

### English Translation

Ker-ker di.

Kila hawk and Kulam parrot lived here. Once when the bush down near the Wahgi river was on fire, these two said, "My brother! There is a big bushfire. There might be rats or some animals lying there dead. Let's go find them, bring them back, cook them, and eat them!"

They went up and down in search of carrion for a while, and picked up dead lizards, snakes and rats, put them in their bags, and carried them back home.

As they were cooking them, Kulam said to Kila, "My brother! We are cooking things we found and brought here. We will be thirsty, as you know, when we eat them. Why don't we drink water while we eat. Go get some water and come back." Kulam was planning on eating them all by himself after sending Kila off. Planning like this, he thought about where Kila would go to get water after he sent him. But Kila said, "Hey, Kulam, you go!" Kulam said, "You go!" Kila said, "You go," and Kulam, too, said, "You go." And so they argued back and forth. Then Kila said, "I will go," and when he was leaving, Kulam gave him a water container made of bamboo, on the bottom of which he had made a hole. Kila took it and went away.

He waited a long time for the container to fill up with water but it never did. Wondering why, he examined the bottom of the container and saw there was a hole. He said, "Eiyo!" and came back.

Looking for Kulam, he went around calling his name, but Kulam was not there. He went around calling his name in vain. He opened the earth oven to see the food they cooked, but the Kulam had already eaten it all up, excreted in it and covered the earth oven again with banana leaves. As the Kila tried to open the oven, he got excrement on his hands. Kila got angry and searched for Kulam everywhere for such a long time, but he could not find Kulam, for Kulam had

pulled out the centre post of the house, gone down into the hole, hid there, put the post back again, and fitted it in the hole.

Kila pulled out that post and looked into the hole. Kulam was down there feeling bad. Kila got angry and swung an axe. Kulam was hit on the beak and it was cut off. Kulam got angry. He stood up and came to Kila. He and Kila fought each other such a long time that they got tired.

Kulam said to Kila, "My brother, we were good friends, but now I am unhappy that you cut my beak off with an axe. You stay here and hunt such things as lizards and rats where people will burn bushes or where women will burn rubbish in sweet potato gardens. I am going to go to Bomai to eat, where the good food is, and to live deep in the forest." He flew up in the sky and left. He went far away to Bomai. Kila remained here hunting small animals like lizards and rats.

Now you will see that the hawk still lives here hunting lizards and rats where people burn bushes. He would have lived together with the parrot, but because of this incident the parrot went away and lives deep in the forest in Bomai. The hawk still lives here. The end.

## 2.2 A Dog and a Pig

Recorded on 24 September 2000.

1. ʔna ʔkum ʔkaman<sup>12</sup> ʔd-ral ʔel=ʔa  
I fairy.tale say-FUT.INF make.1SG=EXPL

I am going to tell a fairy tale.

2. ʔker ʔker ʔdi ʔi  
(beginning.of.the.story)

Ker-ker di-i.

3. ʔal ʔbola ʔsu ʔdogwa ʔyopl ʔipka=ʔmere  
dog pig two fire get.kindling.INF take.2/3DL=as/about  
ʔd-ral ʔel=ʔa  
say-FUT.INF make.1SG=EXPL

I am going to talk about a dog and a pig, who got kindling coal.

<sup>12</sup>ʔkum ʔkaman(sic) is not intended to be in this form. The correct form is ʔkup ʔkaman.

4. *ɲal ʋapal ʋsu=ɽta ɲkonan ɲdmna ɲip ɲel*  
 man woman two=a work woods up.there make.INF  
*ʋye-ipka ɲel ɲyal-e*  
 put-2/3DL.SRD make.INF plant-and(ss)  
*war-ʋa-pl=ɽdi ɽer ʋna-pl=ɽdi ɽer ɲe-ipka*  
 move.around-FUT-1DL=Q to go.FUT-1DL=Q to go-2/3DL.SRD

A man and a woman went to their new garden up in woods where they had weeded to plant some vegetables.

5. *nal ɲbola ʋsu ɲkul ɲne-ipki ʋaul*  
 dog pig two look.after.INF eat-2/3DL.DEM1 taking.person  
*ɽi-re ɽpara war-ʋa-pn=ɽdi ɽer ɲip*  
 take-and(ss) enough/all move.around-FUT-1PL=Q to up.there  
*ɲe-ipka*  
*go-2/3DL*

They went up to the garden taking their dog and pig with them to take a stroll together.

6. *ɲdogwa ʋyopl ɲye-ipki ɽba ɲi*  
 fire get.kindling.INF bring-2/3DL.DEM1 halfway DEM1  
*ʋgo-gwa*  
*go.out-3SG.SRD*

The kindling coal which they had with them went out on their way up to their garden.

7. *ɽpi ʋsuna ɲip ɽp-re*  
 go.INF centre up.there go-and(ss)  
*ɲkui ɲdogwa ɲel gal-ʋa-pl=ɽdi ɽwa/du-ipki*  
 again fire make.INF burn(tr.)-FUT-1DL=Q search-2/3DL.DEM1  
*ɽta ɽde ʋpai=ʋk-gwa*  
 NEG burn(intr.).INF lie=NEG-3SG.SRD

When they went into the middle [of the garden] and they took out the kindling to make a fire, it had gone out.

8. Nbola=Nya Na Ni Adogwa Vyopl Ni-na-n-a  
 pig=and dog DEM1 fire get.kindling.INF take-FUT-2SG-END.A  
 Ap-o Ad ner-gwa  
 go-SG.IMP say.INF to/off-3SG.SRD

One of the keepers sent the pig and the dog to get more.

9. Nbola Ni Aguma Ad ner-gwa No-gwe  
 pig DEM1 first say.INF to/off-3SG.SRD go-3SG.SRD

S/he sent the pig first and the pig went.

10. Api Api Adogwa Vyopl Ari-re Au-gwa  
 go.INF go.INF fire get.kindling.INF take-and(ss) come-3SG.SRD  
 Nkore Aba Ni=Are Nkol Aba Ni=Are  
 but halfway DEM1=DEM2 road halfway DEM1=DEM2  
 Adeklm=Ata Vpai Amol-e  
 earthworm=a lie.INF stay-and(ss)  
 Ana Ata Ana Asi Ane=Vkn=AwA Vyel Adu-gwa  
 I NEG I hit.INF eat=NEG-2SG=ENC.WA like.this say-3SG.SRD

He went, got a kindling coal, and on his way back an earthworm said, "You haven't caught and eaten me."

11. Nbola=Are Ade-m Agol-gwa  
 pig=DEM2 intestines-3SG.POSS die-3SG.SRD

The pig got angry.

12. Adeklm Ni Asi Ane-ra-l=Adi Ala Agapa=Ala  
 earthworm DEM1 hit.INF eat-FUT-1SG=Q inside ground=LOC  
 Ai=Are Vwau No-gwa Vwau Aer No-gwa  
 DEM1=DEM2 dig.INF go-3SG.SRD dig.INF to go-3SG.SRD

He dug the ground to catch and eat the earthworm.

13. Adeklm=Are Aer Vil Vil Apr-re  
 earthworm=DEM2 to forth.here forth.here go-and(ss)  
 Ata Ana Asi Ane=Vkg-e  
 NEG I hit.INF eat=NEG-2SG.IND

ʔta ʔna ʔsi ʔne=ʋk-ge ʔdu-gwa  
 NEG I hit.INF eat=NEG-2SG.IND say-3SG.SRD

The earthworm kept on going and kept saying, "You haven't caught and eaten me."

14. ʔbola=ʔrae ʔsi ʔne-r ʔwai pl-ʋa-l=ʔdi  
 pig=DEM2 hit.INF eat-and(ss) good perceive-FUT-1SG=Q  
 ʋwau ʔer ʋil ʋil ʔo-gwi  
 dig.INF to forth.here forth.here go-3SG.DEM1  
 ʋwau ʔer ʔpi ʔmol-gwa ʔdogwa ʋyopl  
 dig.INF to go.INF stay-3SG.SRD fire get.kindling.INF  
 ʋyo-dae ʋkwar go-ʋra-l=ʔdi ʔel-gwa  
 put-3SG.DEM2 already go.out-FUT-1SG=Q make-3SG.SRD

The pig kept on going, digging to catch it and to enjoy eating it. The fire he had got was already going out.

15. ʔyal ʋapal ʔsul ʔni=ʔrae  
 man woman two.person DEM1=DEM2  
 ʔal=ʔrae ʔdi ʔte-re ʔbola ʔo-dae  
 dog=DEM2 say.INF give-and(ss) pig go-3SG.DEM2  
 ʔdogwa ʋyopl ʔyu-wo ʔdu-pdae ʔo-dae  
 fire get.kindling.INF fetch-SG.IMP say-1PL.DEM2 go-3SG.DEM2  
 ʔta ʔu=ʋk-m=ʔia  
 NEG come=NEG-3SG=EXPL  
 ʔila ʔi ʋkal ʔta ʔel-m=ʔia  
 inside DEM1 thing another make-3SG=EXPL  
 ʔpi kan-ʋa-n-a ʔp-o ʔdu-gwa  
 go.INF see-FUT-2SG-END.A go-SG.IMP say-3SG.SRD

The man and woman said to the dog, "The pig we sent to get kindling coal has not come back. Something has happened to him on his way. Go find him."

16. ʔal=ʔrae ʔeku ʔpi ʔpi ʔba=ʔrae ʋkan-wdae  
 dog=DEM2 later go.INF go.INF halfway=DEM2 see-3SG.DEM2



Nbola=ɿrae ɿdeklm ɿsi ɿne-r ɿu-ra-l=ɿdi  
 pig=DEM2 earthworm hit.INF eat-and(ss) come-FUT-1SG=Q  
 ɿpl-e ɿgapa=ɿla=ɿrae ɿwou ɿpa-m=ɿba  
 perceive-and(ss) ground=LOC=DEM2 dig.INF lie-3SG=but  
 ɿkan ɿkor-e ɿal=ɿae ɿpi ɿdogwa=ɿrae  
 see.INF do.away-and(ss) dog=DEM2 go.INF fire=DEM2  
 ɿku ɿi-re ɿer ɿu  
 put.in.mouth.INF take-and(ss) to come.INF  
 ɿne-m ɿma-m ɿsu=ɿrae ɿto-gwa  
 father-3SG.POSS mother-3SG.POSS two=DEM2 give-3SG.SRD  
 ɿel ɿga-ipke  
 make.INF burn(tr.)-2/3DL.IND

The dog went second and on his way he saw the pig digging the ground to catch and eat an earthworm before coming back. The dog took the kindling coal in his mouth, brought it back, and gave it to his keepers. His keepers made a fire.

17. ɿpara ɿdi ɿkor-ke  
 enough/all say.INF do.away-1SG.IND

The end.

18. ɿkupa ɿaipa ɿbl ɿtol=ɿtal<sup>13</sup>  
 (end.of.the.story)  
 Kupa aipa bl tol tal.

### English Translation

I am going to tell a fairy tale. Ker-ker di-i.

I am going to talk about a dog and a pig, who got kindling coal.

A man and a woman went to their new garden up in woods where they had weeded to plant some vegetables. They went up to the garden taking their dog and pig with them to take a stroll together. The kindling coal which they had with them went out on their way up to their garden. They took out the kindling to make a fire, but it had gone out.

<sup>13</sup>ɿkupa ɿaipa ɿbl ɿtol ɿtal is not used in conversation. It signals the end of a tale.

They sent the pig and the dog to get more. They sent the pig first and the pig went. He went, got a kindling coal, and on his way back an earthworm said, "You haven't caught and eaten me." The pig got angry and dug the ground to catch and eat the earthworm. The earthworm kept on going and kept saying, "You haven't caught and eaten me." The pig kept on going, digging to catch it and to enjoy eating it. The fire he had got was already going out.

The man and woman said to the dog, "The pig we sent to get kindling coal has not come back. Something has happened to him on his way. Go find him."

The dog went second and on his way he saw the pig digging the ground to catch and eat an earthworm before coming back. The dog took the kindling coal in his mouth, brought it back, and gave it to his keepers. His keepers made a fire.

The end. Kupa aipa bl tol tal.

## 2.3 Stealing

Recorded on 7 July 1999.

1. ʔna ʔDama ʔbol ʔaml ʔkunul ʔwou-pka  
I PRN with peanut by.stealing dig-1DL.SRD  
ʔd-ral ʔel=ʔa  
say-FUT.INF make.1SG=EXPL

I am going to tell a story about Dama and me digging up and stealing peanuts.

2. ʔna ʔDama ʔbol ʔtaim=ʔta ʔba ʔwai ʔwon ʔdo-gwa  
I PRN with time=a moon good truly burn(intr.)-3SG.SRD  
ʔer ʔpi ʔGar ʔMn ʔMaul ʔipe  
to go.INF PLN up.there  
ʔKrwai ʔPlawa ʔNogwa<sup>14</sup> ʔaml ʔkul ʔpal-gwa  
PRN peanut look.after.INF put-3SG.SRD  
ʔari ʔer ʔpi ʔpi ʔpa-gwa ʔwou-pka  
leaf to go.INF go.INF lie-3SG.SRD dig-1DL.SRD

<sup>14</sup>ʔKrwai ʔPlawa ʔNogwa 'Krwai "The Flower-Eater" ' is a personal name. ʔKrwai is his real name and ʔPlawa ʔNogwa 'eating flowers' is his nickname.

Once, on the full-moon night, I went with Dama up to Gar Mne Maul where peanut leaves grew well in the garden of Krwai Plawa Nogwa and we dug peanuts together.

3. \Dama \eku \na \mu-na=\la \wau \er \u-gw  
PRN later I back-1SG.POSS=LOC dig.INF to come-3SG.IND

Dama came digging [peanuts] behind me.

4. \na \guema=\kan \wau \er \il \pi \kar-ka \kore  
I first=earlier dig.INF to forth.here go.INF see-1SG.SRD but  
\aul=\ta \el \ni \pa-gwa \kama \si \pa-gwa  
cordyline=a place DEM1 lie-3SG.SRD black (hit).INF lie-3SG.SRD

I went forward digging first and saw a cordyline shrub there, which was black.

5. \na \yopal \mol-m=\di \kan  
I person stay-3SG=Q see.INF

I thought it was a person.

6. \na \barwai \wone \kan \mo-ka \mo-ka  
I for.a.long.time truly see.INF stay-1SG.SRD stay-1SG.SRD  
\mo-ka  
stay-1SG.SRD

I watched it for a long time.

7. \ta \deu \dau \e=\k-gw  
NEG shake(AJ).RED make=NEG-3SG.IND

It did not shake.

8. \an \na \kle \kle=\di \pi \mala \kar-ka  
then I silently.RED=Q go.INF nearby see-1SG.SRD

I approached it silently and looked.

9. \aul \pa-gwa \kan \kor-e  
cordyline lie-3SG.SRD see.INF PERF-and(ss)

I found that it was a shrub.

10. ʔer ʔkol ʔu        ʔaml ʋwou ʋpai-krae  
to back come.INF peanut dig.INF lie-1SG.DEM2  
I came back and dug peanuts.
11. ʔDama ʔkui ʔpi ʔna ʋwou ʔe-kal        ʔai=ʔrae ʔpi  
PRN again go.INF I dig.INF go-1SG.LOC place=DEM2 go.INF  
ʋkan-m=ʔba  
see-3SG=but  
Dama, in turn, went to the place where I had dug peanuts, and he looked round.
12. ʔaul        ʋkar-kal        ʔai=ʔrae ʔkui ʔyal ʔi ʋkan-gwa  
cordyline see-1SG.LOC place=DEM2 again man DEM1 see-3SG.SRD  
He, in turn, saw the same shrub where I had seen it.
13. ʔyopal ʔmol-m=ʔdi ʋkar-ka=ʔmer=ʔrae  
person stay-3SG=Q see-1SG.SRD=as=DEM2  
ʔDama ʋama ʔyopal ʔmol-m=ʔdi ʋkan-gwa  
PRN too person stay-3SG=Q see-3SG.SRD  
He also thought that it was a person as I did.
14. ʔpi ʔna ʋkan ʔmo-ka=ʔmer=ʔrae ʔyal ʔi ʔpi  
go.INF I see.INF stay-1SG.SRD=as=DEM2 man DEM1 go.INF  
ʔtol        ʔbarwai        ʔwon ʋkan ʔmol-m=ʔba  
stare(AJ) for.a.long.time truly see.INF stay-3SG=but  
He went and watched it carefully for a long time in the same way as I had gone and watched it closely.
15. ʔna ʔkopl=ʔta ʔmal ʔi ʋyo-gwa ʔs        ʔer-ka  
I stone=a near DEM1 be-3SG.SRD hit.INF to/off-1SG.SRD  
I threw a nearby stone at it.
16. ʔpi ʔaul=ʔla        ʔmala ʔile=ʔrae ʔbol        ʔsi ʋtelle  
go.INF cordyline=LOC nearby there=DEM2 be.hit.INF noise(AJ)  
ʔdu-gwa  
say-3SG.SRD  
It fell down near the shrub making a noise.

17. NDama Nyopal Nmól-m=ɽdi Vkar-krae Nu-ral  
 PRN person stay-3SG=Q see-1SG.DEM2 come-FUT.INF  
 Nmól-m=di Nyal ɽi Val-a Ninala Ndu-m=Nba  
 stay-3SG=Q man DEM1 brother-1SG.POSS notice(AJ) (say)-3SG=but  
 Oh, boy! Dama thought, "That looks like a person coming towards me."
18. ɽna Vkwar ɽmuku Nd-ra-l=ɽd Ne-ka  
 I already run(AJ) (say)-FUT-1SG=Q make-1SG.SRD  
 I was already about to run.
19. NDama No-gwa=ɽmere ɽgaul ɽki Napi Nime  
 PRN go-3SG.SRD=as cliff bad invisible.side down.there  
 ɽpi Nbol ɽsa ɽdi ɽkiNkor-gw  
 go-INF be.hit-INF disappear(AJ) (say).INF PERF-3SG.IND  
 Dama went down a cliff and disappeared out of sight.
20. ɽna ɽeku ɽpi Ntep Nime ɽp-re  
 I later go-INF top down.there go-and(ss)  
 NDama NDama Ndi-krae  
 PRN PRN say-1SG.DEM2  
 I went down to the edge of the cliff, calling his name, "Dama! Dama!"
21. Vwa Ndu-gw  
 here.I.am say-3SG.IND  
 He said, "Here I am."
22. ɽen VnamNelgo Nu-n-e Ndi-krae  
 you why come-2SG-QM say-1SG.DEM2  
 I asked, "Why did you come here?"
23. NDama=ɽrae Nyopal=ɽta Nu-ral ɽd Nel-gwi  
 PRN=DEM2 person=a come-FUT.1SG Q make-3SG.DEM1  
 ɽna Nti Nu-ka Napi=ɽla Nu-ka  
 I running.away come-1SG.SRD invisible.side=LOC come-1SG.SRD  
 Nya=Nwe Ndu-gw  
 right/back.here=ENC.WE say-3SG.IND  
 Dama said, "A person was coming, so I ran away down here."

24. ʔna ʔyopal ʔta ʔu=ʔk-m=ʔia  
 I person NEG come=NEG-3SG=EXPL  
 ʔer ʔu-o ʔdi-ka ʔer ʔtep ʔu-gw  
 to come-SG.IMP say-1SG.SRD to top come-3SG.IND  
 I said, "No one is coming. Come," and he came up to the top.
25. ʔaul ʔpa-wda=ʔwa  
 cordyline lie-3SG.DEM2=ENC.WA  
 ʔen ʔbarwai ʔtol ʔkan-gi ʔkan-e  
 you for.a.long.time stare(AJ) see-2SG.DEM1 see-and(ss)  
 ʔna ʔti ʔna-n=ʔdi ʔkopl ʔs-re  
 I running.away go.FUT-2SG=Q stone hit-and(ss)  
 ʔna ʔkipi ʔkol ʔe-krae ʔen ʔpi  
 I pretending go-1SG.DEM2 you go-INF  
 ʔila ʔime ʔbol ʔgo-n=ʔua ʔdi-ka  
 inside down.there be.hit-INF die-2SG=ENC.WA say-1SG.SRD  
 I said, "That was a shrub. I saw you watching it for a long time, and threw a stone at it to make you run away, and I pretended to go. You went down there and got roughed up."
26. ʔal-a=o ʔna ʔna ʔsi ʔgol ʔkor-n-a  
 brother-1SG.POSS=VOC I I hit-INF die-INF PERF-2SG-END.A  
 ʔkor-o ʔdu-gw  
 do.away-SG.IMP say-3SG.IND  
 Dama said, "Oh, my brother! You killed me badly."
27. ʔana ʔu-pka ʔaml ʔwou ʔwar-pka  
 then come-1DL.SRD peanut dig-INF move.around-1DL.SRD  
 ʔwai ʔsu-gwa  
 end(AJ) (hit)-3SG.SRD  
 We went back and finished digging peanuts.
28. ʔi-re ʔer u-ʔra-pl=ʔd ʔe-pka  
 take-and(ss) to come-FUT-1DL=Q make-1DL.SRD  
 We were about to go back.

29. *Nkam* *ʋtalpa*<sup>15</sup> *ᵐpor=ʦta* *ʋpa-gwi*  
 banana *talpa.banana* *big=a* *lie-3SG.DEM1*  
*ʋama* *we-ʋra-pl=ᵐwa* *ᵐdu-gw*  
 too cut.down-FUT-1DL=ENC.WA say-3SG.IND  
 He said, "There is a big *talpa* banana tree, let's cut it down (to get bananas) as well."

30. *ʋana* *we-ʋra-pka* *ʋKrwai* *ᵐPlawa* *ᵐNogwa* *ᵐmala*  
 then cut.down-FUT-1DL.SRD PRN nearby  
*ʋpa-m=ʋsip=ʦwa* *pl-ʋa-m=ʦia*  
*lie-3SG=forth.here=ENC.WA* *perceive-FUT-3SG=EXPL*  
*ʦna* *ʋwe* *ᵐer-al* *ᵐel-a* *ᵐkore*  
 I cut.down-INF to/off-FUT-INF make-1SG.END.A on.one.hand  
*ʦen* *ʋkau-yo* *ᵐdi-ka*  
 you carry.on.shoulder-SG.IMP say-1SG.SRD  
 I said, "Ok, but, hey, *Krwai Plawa Nogwa* is sleeping nearby, so when we cut it down, he will hear the noise. So I am going to cut it down and you catch it!"

31. *ᵐyal* *ʦkuna* *ᵐi* *ʦkle=ʦdi* *ʦpi* *ᵐredi* *ᵐel*  
 man age.sake DEM1 silently=Q go-INF ready make-INF  
*ᵐmol-gwa*  
 stay-3SG.SRD  
 He went quietly and got ready to catch it.

32. *ʦna* *ʋwe* *ᵐer* *ᵐkor-ka*  
 I cut.down-INF to/off-INF PERF-1SG.SRD  
 I cut it down.

33. *ᵐmapn=ʦla* *ᵐime* *ᵐnaip* *ʦi-re* *ᵐkatim* *ʦsi*  
 base=LOC down.there knife take-and(ss) cut(AJ) hit-INF  
*ʋwe* *ᵐer* *ᵐkor-ka*  
 cut.down-INF to/off-INF PERF-1SG.SRD  
 I cut it at the base with a knife.

<sup>15</sup>*ʋtalpa* is one of the most common cooking bananas.

34.  $\nabla$ al-n<sup>16</sup>            Ni        kau- $\nabla$ ra-l= $\nabla$ d                             $\nabla$ el-m= $\nabla$ ba  
 brother-PL.POSS   DEM1   carry.on.shoulder-FUT-1SG=Q   make-3SG=but  
 Our brother tried to catch it.
35. Nkam    Nipn         $\nabla$ de                             $\nabla$ pi  
 banana   heavy(AJ) (burn(intr.)).INF   go.INF  
 $\nabla$ mo-n                     $\nabla$ ne-ya<sup>17</sup>  
 penis-2SG.POSS   eat-1SG.END.A  
 $\nabla$ al-n                    Ni         $\nabla$ si         $\nabla$ i                     $\nabla$ pi         $\nabla$ maun  $\nabla$ pal-e  
 brother-PL.POSS   DEM1   hit.INF   take.INF   go.INF   below   put-and(ss)  
 Nkam     $\nabla$ pi         $\nabla$ tep  $\nabla$ dawal-gwa  
 banana   go.INF   top   put.together-3SG.SRD  
 The bananas knocked him down with all its weight bearing down upon him.
36.  $\nabla$ al-n                    Ni         $\nabla$ na  $\nabla$ na  $\nabla$ gol= $\nabla$ a                    Nkam  
 brother-PL.POSS   DEM1   I        I        die=1SG.EXPL   banana  
 $\nabla$ yape                     $\nabla$ yer-o                     $\nabla$ di         $\nabla$ pai         $\nabla$ mol-gwa  
 right/back.up.here   remove-SG.IMP   say.INF   lie.INF   stay-3SG.SRD  
 Our friend kept on saying, "Palus! Palus! I am dying. Take the bananas off me."
37.  $\nabla$ na  $\nabla$ yer-ka  
 I        remove-1SG.SRD  
 I removed them.
38.  $\nabla$ na  $\nabla$ na  $\nabla$ si         $\nabla$ gol         $\nabla$ kor-gi= $\nabla$ we                     $\nabla$ du-gwa  
 I        I        hit.INF   die.INF   PERF-2SG.DEM1=ENC.WE   say-3SG.SRD  
 He said, "You really killed me."
39.  $\nabla$ na  $\nabla$ al-a                     $\nabla$ epl         $\nabla$ el         $\nabla$ gol         $\nabla$ kor-e  
 I        brother-1SG.POSS   laugh(AJ)   make.INF   die.INF   PERF-and(ss)

<sup>16</sup>The person-number system for the possessor is different from that for the verbal subject. Dual is not included in it and plural (more than one) does not distinguish the person.

<sup>17</sup> $\nabla$ mon  $\nabla$ neya 'I eat your penis' is an interjection usually used to express affection between males. In this context, it expresses funniness of the story.



ʔmo-n            ʔne-ya            ʔkam=ʔya    ʔaml=ʔya    ʔkol ʔkol  
 penis-2SG.POSS eat-1SG.END.A banana=and peanut=and both.side  
 ʔkau                    ʔi-re            ʔal-a  
 carry.on.shoulder.INF take-and(ss) brother-1SG.POSS  
 ʔer ʔu-re            ʔer ʔu-pka            ʔwai    ʔsu-gwe  
 to come-and(ss) to come-1DL.SRD end(AJ) (hit)-3SG.IND

We could not stop laughing. We took bananas and peanuts, and carried them back home, and that's the end of the story.

### English Translation

I am going to tell a story about Dama and me stealing peanuts.

Once, on the full-moon night, I went with Dama up to Gar Mne Maul where peanut leaves grew well in the garden of Krwai Plawa Nogwa. We dug peanuts together, Dama came digging peanuts behind me. I went forward digging first and saw a black cordyline shrub there. I thought it was a person. I watched it for a long time, but it did not shake. I approached it silently, and I found that it was a shrub.

When I came back and was digging peanuts, Dama, in turn, went to the place where I had dug peanuts, and he looked round. He, in turn, saw the same shrub, and also thought that it was a person as I did. He went and watched it carefully for a long time in the same way as I had gone and watched it closely.

I threw a nearby stone at it, which fell down near the shrub making a noise. Oh, boy! Dama thought, "That looks like a person coming at me." I was already about to run, and Dama went down a cliff and disappeared out of sight.

I went down to the edge of the cliff, calling his name, "Dama! Dama!" He said, "Here I am." I said, "Why did you come here?" Dama said, "A person was coming, so I ran away down here." I said, "No one is coming. Come," and he came up to the top.

I said, "That was a shrub. I saw you watching it for a long time, and threw a stone at it to make you run away, and I pretended to go. You went down there and got roughed up." Dama said, "Oh, my brother! You gave me hell."

We went back and finished digging peanuts, but when we were about to go back, he said, "There is a big *talpa* banana tree, let's cut it down (to get bananas) as well." I said, "OK, but, hey, Krwai Plawa Nogwa is sleeping nearby, so when

we cut it down, he will hear the noise. So I am going to cut it down and you catch it!"

He went quietly and got ready to catch it while I cut it down. I cut it at the base with the knife, but when he tried to catch it, the bananas knocked him down with all its weight, bearing down upon him. Our friend kept on saying, "Palus! Palus! I am dying. Take the bananas off me." I removed them. He said, "You really gave me hell." We could not stop laughing.

We took bananas and peanuts, and carried them back home, and that's the end of the story.

## Symbols and Abbreviations

<i>italic in Dom text</i> : loanword (mostly from Tok Pisin)	ENC.WA: enclitic indicating the end of a clause
(gloss in parentheses): original mean- ing of a verb in a phrasal verb	ENC.WE: enclitic indicating the end of a phrase
{sounds in braces}: unintended by the speaker	END.A: an ending, one of whose func- tions is indicating a purpose
-: morpheme boundary	END.O: an ending which has cohorta- tive use
=: enclitic boundary	EXPL: explanatory remark
1: first person	FUT: future
2: second person	IMP: imperative
3: third person	IND: indicative
AJ: adjunct nominal	INF: infinitive
DEM1: demonstrative to refer to some- thing identifiable immediately	intr.: intransitive
DEM2: demonstrative to refer to some- thing known by a hearer as well	LOC: suffix indicating the place where an event takes place
DIM: diminutive	NEG: negative
DL: dual	PERF: perfect
DS: different subject	PL: plural
	PLN: place name

POSS: possessive

PRN: personal name

Q: quotation marker

QM: non-yes-no question

RED: reduplicated form

SG: singular

SRD: subordinative

SS: same subject

tr.: transitive

VOC: vocative

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